

PEACE NEWS

No. 410 April 21, 1944 2d.

P.P.U. annual meeting

THE Peace Pledge Union will be holding its seventh annual general meeting in Friends House, Euston Rd., London, this week-end.

A report will appear in next week's Peace News, which will be a six-page issue.

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Canon Charles E. Raven and John Middleton Murry will speak on "Pacifism and the Future" at a public meeting in Friends House at 2.30 p.m. on Sunday—following the AGM. Dr. Alex Wood will be in the chair.

THE GROUND AND THE STARS

PACIFISTS should be optimists. To see the immense possibilities of finer, more effective life within all men, and for mankind as a whole is not wishful thinking but the truest realism.

To seize our opportunities we need to be trained and ready in body, and emotions.

If our movement will go forward with a faith and venturesomeness that is yet based in reason, its outward support need not worry us. We are glad to see a steady increase in the Headquarters Fund: February, £1 17s. 6d.; March, £18 19s. 8d.; April 1-14, £20 7s.

This is good and we want more, but it is the life of our movement and of each one of us that matters most.

Donations to the Fund, which should be marked "Headquarters Fund," will be very gratefully received by me at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1. The rest is in the hands of each of us.

MAURICE ROWNTREE
Hon. Treasurer.

END OF HOPES FOR A TRUE PEACE

WAR ENTHRONES DICTATORSHIP

MR. Archibald MacLeish, poet, and Librarian of Congress, said lately in New York:

"Liberals meet in Washington these days, if they can endure to meet at all, to discuss the tragic outlook for all liberal proposals, the collapse of all liberal leadership and the inevitable defeat of all liberal aims."

Shortly after, he made an official journey to London, where he enlarged upon this theme:

"Nothing had more disturbed him in the last few months at home and in the few days in which he had been here than the collapse of moral among men of liberal mind and good will in their hope for peace at the end of this war. He did not know of one such man who truly believed that the war was going to end in the kind of peace hoped for. Every possible circumstance that could contribute to the making of such a peace existed, yet men of good will no longer believed that a true peace could be made. The conviction and determination that such a peace should be made were lacking." (Times, Apr. 12.)

Oil and the Charter

THE little affair of Arabian oil is hardly worthy of the great Crusade. The story, even as told by Col. Knox to Congress, is unedifying.

American oil companies feared that Britain might take over their concessions in Saudi Arabia. They asked the USA Government to protect them; but rejected the proposal that the USA Government should buy the concessions, or go fifty-fifty. "There was a sense of alarm among oil-people at the idea of the Government getting into the oil-business." So the USA Government offered to provide a \$30-million pipe-line from the Persian gulf to the Mediterranean and work it for 25 years, in return for 1,000 million barrels of oil at 25 per cent. discount on market prices.

Upon that came a report that the King of Saudi Arabia has "changed his mind" and now "prefers to deal with Britain" (D. Herald, Apr. 15). That indicated the need for an Anglo-American oil agreement. One has been drafted by the USA State Department (D. Express, Apr. 17). It will, according to the Chicago Sun, give "real meaning to the fourth article of the Atlantic Charter," So the Crusade is saved, after all.

Dictatorial de Gaulle

NOW that Gen. Giraud has been eliminated, it is admitted that ominous tendencies towards personal

Observer's Commentary

dictatorship are now plainly visible in Gen. de Gaulle. There is nothing that USA or Britain can do about it directly which will not strengthen de Gaulle's position.

But formally to recognize the Algiers Committee and de Gaulle as the government of France, though shrilly urged by the exponents of the new democracy, seems stupid. It is a case for non-intervention. Interference now rallies hypersensitive French sentiment behind de Gaulle. Alotness may allow self-criticism, of the French by the French, to grow.

But it is a justification of the thesis which we have maintained since the war began, and particularly since the fall of France: namely that the clue to the European situation lay in the fact that fascism was not the invention of one or two wicked men, but a necessary political development in nations which, for various reasons, were incapable of taking the direct plunge into communism.

Results of expediency

PRE-WAR France was politically paralyzed. Because it was a democracy and wished to remain one it could not take either the communist or fascist path. That is to say, the defeat of France was due to her virtues, not her vices. The resurrection of France, under de Gaulle, has been an artificial renaissance. Without vast subsidies from Britain and USA it would have had no life at all. Britain used de Gaulle as a useful instrument for an important part of her war against Germany—the destruction of Vichy's claim to be the legitimate government of France.

The upshot of this political immorality—the unprincipled use of any means to weaken the chief enemy, Germany—is that we have hatched in de Gaulle what promises to be a

full-blown dictatorship, which will impose itself on France with British and American aid. The execution of Pucheu was a crucial example of the same abrogation of law by violence—the so-called "political justice"—which is common to fascism and communism.

A grim parallel

HITLER'S promise "Heads will roll," is now the promise of the Algiers Committee. Why were the heads to roll, according to Hitler? Because the leaders of Weimar Germany had betrayed Germany by concluding peace with the victors. The reason given by the Algiers Committee is that "the men of Vichy" betrayed France by concluding peace with the victors.

De Gaulle's movement was subsidized by Britain, then reluctantly by USA: Hitler's was subsidized by the great German industrialists. Neither derived its strength from the real will of the German or French people.

The falsity of the contention that this is a war for democracy against fascism reveals itself. That is the propaganda façade, which has deceived so many men of goodwill, who lacked a clear understanding of the forces at work, into supporting the war.

Unconscious purpose

ALL the current ideologies are irrelevant. Communism is nationalist; fascism is nationalist; democracy is nationalist. Yet it is not really a war of nationalisms either. Nationalism—like anti-fascism, or anti-communism—is also façade.

The simplest description of the war is the truest. It is the only solution of the: problem of mass-unemployment of which capitalist society is capable; the only way the machines can be allowed to work without blowing the existing property-system sky-high. The conscious purpose of this war is to defeat an enemy; but the unconscious purpose is to destroy as much as possible. The more that is destroyed, the more work will be needed to rebuild. The reconstruction required may indeed keep the nations out of mischief long enough for them to find a more sensible way of employing their citizens.

Since man has now achieved an extremity of collective madness beyond which it seems impossible to go, he may come to his senses.

"The major part of Germany, which includes the Army . . . is turning towards new doctrines coming from the East as the only hope of Germany's continued existence" (News Chronicle, Apr. 14).

Meanwhile, there is nothing to be surprised at in the fact that dictatorship, after 4½ years of war nominally fought against it, is in the ascendant.

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

Total Disarmament — Is it a practical policy?

By the Duke of Bedford

WITH the whole world armed to the teeth and in a seething tumult of war, the idea of total disarmament might appear at first sight to be an idle dream indeed.

Yet for the very reason that the whole world is in a seething tumult of war; that war's futility and unpleasantness are being brought home to people on a larger scale than ever before; and that the desire to avoid a future war is probably more intense than it has ever been; a lead in the direction of total disarmament, boldly planned and wisely presented if possible by some important political group, would, I am confident, meet with a more earnest response than ever before in history—it may be, even, with an overwhelming response.

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It goes without saying, of course, that the proposal for total disarmament would have to be accompanied by other measures removing the main causes of war, i.e., the unfair distribution, as between nations, of the world's economic resources; and political tyranny exercised by one country over another.

What arguments in favour of total disarmament could most usefully be

put forward at the present time by a political group endowed with real vision?

First, I think, the argument that if we do not destroy—yes, destroy—armaments, armaments will destroy us. A glance round our ruined cities, coupled with a reminder that as long as we retain armaments, *ipso facto* we also retain scientific "progress" in the development of yet more fearful instruments of devastation, should make this fact sufficiently obvious!

Armaments are not a tame watchdog which you can keep to protect you against burglars: they are a deadly microbe which, if you decide to breed and cherish it, will not only destroy your enemies; it will destroy you and your friends as well.

The popular "watch-dog" idea of armaments is futile and fallacious because it ignores alike the lessons of history and the facts of human nature. The defensive armaments of one nation going on from strength to strength as a result of the scientific "progress" already alluded to, are inevitably regarded as potentially offensive armaments by other nations; while the very fact of the existence of the armaments and the training of men in their use, develops a war-psychology by accustoming the citizens of a country to regard armaments as

something the employment of which may at any time become both right and necessary.

Sooner or later, as surely as night follows day, either to compel the redress of a grievance, or to achieve an ambition, some political leader will be tempted to use the physical and psychological weapons that lie so temptingly ready to his hand. On the other hand it is obvious that if the weapons do not exist the temptation to use them cannot exist either.

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In time of war it is foolish to deny that armaments are a protection of a kind, though their protective value tends steadily to decrease, as is again shown by the present state of the cities of undefeated countries. In time of peace armaments may also possess a very small protective value, intimidating a would-be adversary; but this protective value is far outweighed by other factors and, for reasons already given, armaments by their very existence constitute an assurance of another war as perfect as can well be devised.

The extent of the danger of being unarmed in an armed world is a matter on which sharp differences of opinion exist and the majority do not share the pacifist view; but as between the dangers of being unarmed in an unarmed world and armed in an armed world, few reasonable people would deny that the former are infinitely the less.

It is clear, therefore, that to eliminate the

risks of total disarmament, all that is needed is adequate safeguards and rights of inspection granted and received to make sure that all nations really do observe their disarmament pledges, and in this matter if a will existed a way would certainly be found.

Total disarmament is of particular interest and importance at the present time in view of the fact that some years ago it was actually suggested by the Soviet Government. That the democracies chose to ignore the suggestion should probably in justice be regarded as placing upon their shoulders a heavy share of the blame for any militarist or imperialist tendencies the Soviet Government may now display. Unfortunately it is displaying such tendencies in no uncertain fashion and if

Is total disarmament the only pacifist national policy?

Readers' views appear on page 2.

means cannot be found to induce it to return to the more enlightened outlook of earlier days, another war seems well-nigh certain.

If there were to be a complete Allied victory, and Russia were to occupy, or virtually occupy, small neighbouring States for use as military buffers, it does not require much imagination to see the next war already beginning to take shape. Imperialist elements in the British Empire and in America, jealous and fearful of Russia's military strength, would arm feverishly against it; while non-pacifist humanitarians, indignant at the Soviet oppression of the small countries, would begin arming in their minds, as formerly they armed against Germany.

Total disarmament seems, therefore, the only hope and it would certainly give to Russia that security from invasion which she apparently makes her chief excuse for violating the most important of the principles of the Atlantic Charter.

PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N4

Stamford Hill 2262

All letters on other than editorial matters should be addressed to the Manager

LIMITATIONS OF SCAPEGOATS

THE official attempt to put the blame for the miners' strikes on an insignificant group of "Trotskyists" is characteristic of the present time. It is the age of scapegoats, because it is the age of revolution: of changes in the bases of human living so fundamental that the average mind cannot grasp them. The process of history is now completely out of control.

For the discomfort and suffering which will continue until some rational control of human affairs is established someone must be blamed, and punished—the power, outside ourselves and not ourselves (to parody Matthew Arnold's phrase) that makes for unrighteousness.

"Trotsky" is the name of the troublesome Devil in the new religion of Communism. The British Government has so far progressed towards the new religion that it identifies the demons who misled the striking miners with the "Trotskyists." In the new religion of Nazism the name for the Devil is the Jew. Hitler has done his best to exterminate him. In the creed of British Nationalism the present name for the Devil is Hitler, and his attendant spirits are called Quislings. But he has had all kinds of names before. He was called Kruger in our boyhood; then he was called the Kaiser; then Lenin. But now he is Hitler.

When things go wrong, find a scapegoat. Whatever you do, if you aim at being a "leader," do not suggest that your own people need to do some hard and honest thinking. You know, by your own reluctance in that respect, how uncongenial it is to others. You know, by experience, how much more pleasant it is to hate somebody else than to hate yourself. You know, by experience, how much easier it is to destroy than to create. And how burdensome it is, either to read the lessons of the past, or to try to take responsibility for the future.

A good massive scapegoat then, and a war to exterminate the loathed thing, is a very potent remedy for the malaise produced by the utter lack of any rational control of human affairs. Not merely does the emotional frustration find relief; but in these paradoxical days war itself removes the causes of frustration. In modern war the children are better fed; everybody has a job; the nation offers an inspiring spectacle of sacred unity; even Peace News makes a profit. Everything goes on wheels. The only snag is that it is war, after all.

And, strangely enough, people get sick of war. Even Mr. Churchill who, we thought, could never have enough of it, grows irritable at the end of five years. Even Gen. Montgomery says he is getting fed up with it. So are a few hundred thousand miners. But what will happen if it stops? And how do you stop it?

This is a novel kind of war, in which nations use themselves up. They fight on, because they now *can* fight on, till there is nothing left to make peace with. Nations are veritably *possessed* by total war. The purpose of the scapegoat is to get the mechanism of possession going. Once the wheels are humming the process can look after itself—till it runs down. Behind the machine of total war are men, men who finally get fed up. When enough of them are fed up, the war will stop. But peace will not follow: because peace, unlike war, has to be consciously willed and deliberately created. The discovery and killing of a scapegoat will not bring men peace. Peace needs repentance.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement or PPU connection with the matter advertised.

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Displayed advertisements: Maximum size, 3 column inches. Copy by first post Friday.

Is Total Disarmament the only Pacifist Policy?

HOW THE CONTROVERSY BEGAN

IN our leading article a fortnight ago, entitled "The Politics of Pacifism," we stated:

"Pacifism, we believe, has only one policy at the national level: immediate, complete and unilateral disarmament. . . . If pacifists cannot persuade their fellow-citizens to complete and unilateral disarmament, then no other distinct and distinctive national policy is open to them to advocate as pacifists."

We publish here a representative selection of the letters since received on this subject.

NOW IS THE TIME

I FEEL I must write to express my thankfulness for the editorial, "The Politics of Pacifism."

It has long been a matter of great concern to me that our movement does not maintain "the advocacy, in season and out of season, of unilateral disarmament." As you, sir, say, it "is the only policy which involves for the nation a moral decision of the same nature as that which the pledge: 'I renounce war' involves for the individual."

Why is it that we who have taken this pledge for ourselves are so timorous in proclaiming the need for immediate, complete and unilateral disarmament as the only way to end war? I cannot accept the view that public propaganda along these lines is impractical, unrealistic and ill-timed. I believe that, whereas now most of the non-pacifist world does not know what we stand for at all, and regards us as a set of hopeless cranks, they would, if we were more definite and fearless in our statements, at least give us more attention and respect, even if they could not accept our views.

After all, surely there never was a time when it was easier to show up the futility and absurdity of war. Beginning with the Darian affair, followed by the transformation of the Italian foe into co-belligerent, the cynical advice to Poland and the friendly warning to Finland to accept the consequences of Russian victory, the renunciation of the Atlantic Charter—these and many other instances crowd upon us.

I only wish the PPU, at its coming AGM, would pledge itself to a nation-wide campaign for unilateral disarmament. Such a campaign would, I feel sure, release many pacifists from the sense of frustration which besets them at the present time, and would make our movement better understood and respected by the outside world.

MARY ALEXANDER
Cantley Lane, Cringleford, Norwich.

A LONE STAND, IF NEED BE

I heartily welcome your leading article on "The Politics of Pacifism." An unequivocal demand for unilateral disarmament is the only national policy for pacifists as such. All our other demands for social justice, legal and prison reform, international control of finance and so on, are already adopted by other progressive bodies.

I admire the courage of recent pacifist candidates in by-elections, but, from a fairly comprehensive reading of their propaganda, I have been uneasy about their avoidance of this issue. I do not for one moment suggest that their own feelings to it have been in doubt, but I think they should have put this demand in the forefront of their campaigns.

It won't be a popular demand, but better an honest appeal with small support than a vague one with slightly more support. After all, we know we are revolutionaries: let us be forthright in advocating the revolutionary policy of immediate and unilateral disarmament.

This brings up the question of our collaboration with our non-pacifist friends. The question of armaments touches national life everywhere: national financial policy, the whole question of full employment, our economic structure, all are inextricably bound up with the manufacture and maintenance of war weapons, not to mention the influence of armament manufacturers on the Press and the financial interest in arms possessed by many of our leaders.

Let us try to drive this home to the minds of our non-pacifist progressives: they are the people we have to convert; the people who have the intelligence and energy (we hope) to lead them to a re-examination of their attitude. Let us give them our sympathy for their reformist zeal, but let us also try to prove to them the futility of any great national reform, be it social or economic, which does not involve the complete repudiation of armament in any form. There's too much co-operation with the views of people with whom we disagree: what we want is a little more non-co-operation, and willingness on our part to make a lone stand, if need be, for those principles we know to be right. It will get us further in the long run.

HERBERT BYARD
18 Bloomfield Rd., Gloucester.

WAR CANNOT BE ISOLATED

WAR is not an isolated phenomenon and we doubt if it can profitably be so discussed. No pacifist would dispute the main contention of your leader on politics, but even unilateral disarmament does not constitute a national policy.

Those unresolved tensions which issue in war can clearly be exacerbated or relieved by policies independent of armed strength.

The choice of social policies "most likely to bring an end to this war and reduce the chances of the next one" may therefore be more relevant than "the advocacy, in season and out of season, of unilateral disarmament," which pacifists are known to support—and which no one else will stand for.

We are content to be among those who offer "equivocal answers" to the question whether we would "let the enemy do his will." There are certain services which we now withhold from government resting on popular sanction; surely no pacifist would offer less resistance to an invading fascist oppressor!

PEACE COMMENTARY GROUP
16 Mecklenburgh Sq., London, W.C.1.

DISARMAMENT IS NOT ENOUGH

FOR once I find myself in disagreement with your leading article. In a letter to your columns, a reader expressing similar opinions might have laid himself open to incisive criticism from yourself. Can the pacifist, past the "We say no!" stage, seriously believe that war is a product of opposing military forces? For that is a deduction which can be drawn from your article. And can it be denied that to ask a nation to lay down its arms without having undergone a spiritual revolution, is to ask it to do the right thing for the wrong reason?

I am not suggesting that the pacifist should not press for unilateral disarmament, but if war is recognized as something more than armed hostility—as something, that is to say, that exists in our contemporary society, pervading our whole relationships with one another, whether we are individuals, nations or groups—then there is more to do, which when dealing with groups and nations enters the field of politics.

The task of the pacifist in political life must be the building of a structure of society which is creatively peaceful. Such work entails the propagation of ideals and practical plans quite as fundamental as a demand for disarmament.

I am sure the writer of the article believes disarmament to be impossible in the society we have today, and that a revolution in our way of life would be needed before disarmament became practical politics. Would he not concede that a primary duty of the pacifist politician is the advocacy of policies and plans based upon moral principles which will lead to the creation of a society in which armaments are neither necessary nor desired?

To follow the findings of your leading article is to put the cart before the horse.

EDRED WRIGHT
St. Michael's Vicarage, Tenbury Wells, Worcs.

NEGOTIATED PEACE THE FIRST STEP

It was good to see such an unequivocal interpretation of the political implication of the Peace Pledge in your article on "The Politics of Pacifism."

Disarmament (universal rather than unilateral) is the only logical national interpretation of the Pledge, just as the complete refusal to sanction or assist war is the only possible personal interpretation. I am pleased to know that you are pressing for recognition of this fact among the readers of Peace News, for it is an interpretation which has been too often ignored.

But I fail to see how the spirit of compromise enters into the advocacy of peace-by-negotiation. I agree that much of present practical politics and moral development are incompatible

with pacifism. But surely to ask for an armistice so that peace may be secured by negotiation is not in any way inconsistent with the ultimate object of total disarmament.

Practically, it is the primary necessity to secure this end, for armaments cannot be abolished while the are continued in use. So, instead of compromise, a plea for a negotiated peace merely puts first things first, and leaves the individual who advocates it to indicate the ultimate object while pressing for the first step towards it.

Earlier advocacy of this unequivocal interpretation of the Pledge would have made a deep moral impression before now and saved us from all sorts of equivocal answers. To your question "Are you calling upon us to lay down our arms and let the enemy do his will?" some pacifists would answer, "Yes, we are calling upon you to lay down your arms, because we have a philosophy which provides a surer and safer method of preventing the enemy doing his evil will."

JOHN MORLEY
"Rosslyn," Highfield Rd.,
Westerhope, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

LONG-TERM FAITH

I should like to thank you for your leader on "The Politics of Pacifism." We are pledged to be peacemakers, and our pledge: "I renounce war," is the negative side of our positive vocation, in the same sense as the renunciation of "the devil and all his works" is the negative side of the Christian's baptismal promise.

If pacifism were adopted as a national policy it would mean, as you say, nothing less than "immediate, complete, and unilateral disarmament." Such a policy would involve risks and suffering even as war does, but whereas the suffering endured in waging war is largely wasted in the fires of war's hatreds, the suffering endured patiently and without retaliation in obedience to the law of love and in untiring pursuit of reconciliation and peace is a suffering which is creative and redemptive, and in which there is, at any rate, a shred of hope for the future.

I feel, however, that we must face honestly the extreme unlikelihood of pacifism being adopted as national policy in our life-time or in the life-time of our children. The one thing fairly certain is that pacifism will not even survive unless those who are pacifists in these dark days are constant and clear in their witness and willing to be accounted fools for the truth's sake.

F. G. FINCHAM
East Preston Vicarage, nr. Littlehampton.

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P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., WC1

The Purpose of Development

WHEN I was appointed Secretary to the National Development Committee, in October 1942, I was unknown to the great majority of PPU members; now I find that I can recall thousands with whom I have talked and hundreds who gladly welcomed me into their homes, all of whom, in some measure, I hope I can call my friends. My lasting impression of eighteen months' work with the PPU will be of the kindness shown to me when, often at very short notice, I descended on unsuspecting households, and was treated with a generosity which I felt was an expression of gratitude to the PPU as a whole rather than to myself as its representative. In this kindness and generosity I think we have the clue to the reason why many members became pacifists; because, above all else, they have a high regard for the value of each human personality.

I was always concerned to see that the organization of our movement became as efficient as our quite proper regard for individual peculiarities would allow. Building on the firm foundations laid by Alan Staniland and Muriel Boldero in the Records Department I think we can now feel that, under Lilla Tansley, this department can adequately fulfil any reasonable demand made upon it.

Changes of Group Secretaries occur with bewildering frequency; old stalwarts drop out of active work; the numbers of groups decrease and Contact Members show a rapid increase. The personnel of our movement is changing rapidly and while, in some circumstances, this may be an encouraging thing I have an uneasy feeling that we are losing our grip. At a time when reliable observers find war-weariness increasing in the industrial areas and the Government becoming unpopular even with hitherto enthusiastic supporters we have a great opportunity to help guide people's thoughts into more constructive channels. For the moment of real opportunity the Development Committee has struggled to hold our movement together.

Once, after showing a member round our Headquarters, she remarked, half mockingly, "So this is the place which is the hope of the world." If we could all regard our movement seriously as one of the most hopeful bodies in a war-ravaged world then the effectiveness of all our efforts would be enormously increased.

For nearly five years now we have struggled against war mentality; we seem to have been beating the air and finding our work a vain enterprise. Still we go on because we have faith; and though our works are perhaps feeble and not of the type we could foresee five years ago we may be confident that the gleams of sanity we have been able to bring into the darkness of the contemporary scene will some day swell into a light to lighten the footsteps of all mankind.

ALBERT TOMLINSON

During the last month two new Contact Members have been added to our list at Headquarters: Mr. R. Holman, of "Homeleigh," The Warren, Mayfield, Tunbridge Wells; and Mr. J. Whittaker, Holton Grange, Holton Beckering, near Wragby, Lincs. We now have a Group, instead of a Contact Member, at Dover; the Secretary is: Mr. L. Fox, The Grove, Whitfield, Dover.

PACIFISM AND NATIONALISM CAN GO TOGETHER

To the Editor

YOU are to be congratulated roundly on your leader of Mar. 31.

As a Scottish nationalist-pacifist, and one of those who are working on the theory, I can vouch for the fact that there is being developed in Scotland, as in Wales, a political philosophy which contends not only that pacifism in its positive aspect and nationalism in its positive aspect are compatible, but also that they are essentially in harmony. It might not be going too far to say that even apart from empirical considerations, logically they presuppose one another.

The theory cannot be expounded in a letter; but it may help to allay your readers' scepticism to point out that the pacifism propounded in England by Gill, Murry, Plowman, Wellock, and others, may very reasonably be called English nationalism, and is analogous to the present-day nationalism of Wales and Scotland. Whatever the label, the aim is the same: a total national regeneration conceived in the light of the true and lasting traditions of life and thought of each nation, and envisaged as a step towards genuine internationalism.

Words of Peace—69

The Divine Image

To Mercy, Pity, Peace and Love
All pray in their distress;
And to these virtues of delight
Return their thankfulness.

For Mercy, Pity, Peace and Love
Is God, our father dear,
And Mercy, Pity, Peace and Love
Is Man, his child and care.

For Mercy has a human heart,
Pity a human face,
And Love the human form divine
And Peace, the human dress.

Then every man, of every clime,
That prays in his distress,
Prays to the human form divine,
Love, Mercy, Pity, Peace.

And all must love the human form,
In heathen, Turk or Jew;
Where Mercy, Love and Pity dwell
There God is dwelling too.

WILLIAM BLAKE

Those who baulk at this are allowing the anti-war aspect of pacifism, and the false nationalism which is imperialism in embryo, to cloud their judgment. Scottish nationalists base their philosophy on the Scottish moral and political tradition; and for that very reason the moral and cultural aspects are regarded as primary, the political and economic as secondary and derivative. Pacifists should not imagine that they have a monopoly of moral ideals.

Many of the leading Scottish nationalists are pacifists—although this fact does not commit the Scottish National Party to an official pacifist policy—and some, myself among them, are members of the PPU. When English PPU-ers realize that England, too, has now lost her national independence, they will more readily appreciate that there is no anomaly in that position.

While we do hold the London Government as palpably responsible for many of the miseries of Scotland (which are worse than those of England—vide health, housing, unemployment, infantile mortality, etc.), we openly announce that the Scots are themselves to blame for the continuation of these miseries. Not a single responsible representative of Scottish nationalism has ever made England the scapegoat or inculcated any national hatred.

As regards Mr. Hilditch's comments on the Kirkcaldy by-election campaign, I have been personally assured by both Mr. Douglas Young and his election agent, Mr. Arthur Donaldson, that there was no official expression, and no feeling of "hatred of the Englishman." Surely it is unnecessary to remind a Christian socialist that criticism of and contempt for the anti-British policies of the British ruling class is not criticism of and contempt for Englishmen. English, Irish, Welsh, or Scots, our fight is one; and "mair pith" to our distinctive elbows!

JOHN HIGHT

207 Kenmore St., Glasgow, S.1.

Asked in Parliament by Mrs. Tate on Apr. 6 whether he would make the register of COs available for inspection by the public, Mr. Bevin replied "No."

U.S. controversy on bombing STARTED BY PACIFISTS

THE publication in a small American magazine of an article condemning the policy of mass bombing has aroused a major controversy in the USA. The article was by Vera Brittain and was an extract from a book called "Seed of Chaos," which is about to be published in this country (New Vision Publishing Company, 3s. 6d.).

As a result of the publication of the article in "Fellowship," the journal of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation, an appeal against "saturation bombing of European cities" was signed by twenty-seven prominent Protestant clergymen and Oswald Garrison Villard.

The postbags of American newspapers were filled with letters about Miss Brittain's article and Dorothy Thompson (Sunday Chronicle, Mar. 12) reported:

"... the repercussion was enormous; everybody talked about it, and 98 per cent. rejected it. I take the figure of 98 per cent. from the mail of New York Times, which has the heaviest reader-contributions of any paper in the country."

"Actually, the letters from the public at large were much harsher and more furious than the comments of professional publicists. The latter showed a humane understanding of the issue."

(Although the first printing of the book is severely limited, 100 copies have been reserved for the PPU Bookshop.)

THE P.P.U. MESSAGE IN THE CITY

At the first of a new series of open-air lunch-hour meetings, held in Lincoln's Inn Fields on Thursday of last week, Patrick Figgis, PPU General Secretary, received a fairly good hearing from a crowd of about 170 people when he spoke on the work and objects of the PPU. A few copies of Peace News were sold.

The meetings are being held from 1 to 2 p.m. each Thursday, under the auspices of the PPU London Area. The support of City workers who can attend will be welcomed.

AN EASTER SERVICE

The description by "a Padre in North Africa" of a service for German prisoners of war, which we printed under the above heading on Apr. 7, was originally published in the Christian News Letter.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

TERMS: Cash with order, except for series bookings. Copy by Monday. 2d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra.) Maximum length: 50 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4. Owing to pressure on space we reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

ACCOMMODATION

HOME WANTED with friendly people; 3 months; quiet area; journalist recovering long illness. Terms, particulars: David Peat, Borers Platt, Ditchling, Sussex.

CARAVAN TO LET. Indoor sanitation, sink, water, stove. Herts. Box 396.

YOUNG MAN requires holiday accommodation, one week June-July, hill country N. England or Wales. Please write particulars. Box 400.

PACIFIST COUPLE with baby require house, flat in August or September next when returning from evacuation area. Travelling distance London. Need desperate. Suggestions welcomed. Box 401.

WANTED by young lady student (17 years) quiet room, with breakfast and supper provided, fairly central, from Jun. 1 to Jul. 30, 1944. State terms. 8 Spring Bank, Lancaster.

EDUCATIONAL

FIND RECREATION and new power to serve through speaking and writing. Correspondence (also visit) lessons 5s., classes 1s. 6d. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 22 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3.

SHERWOOD SCHOOL, Epsom (9125), a co-educational community aiming at independence, initiative, and friendliness. School and Higher School Certs.; boarding and day (excellent centre for Wimbledon, Sutton, Kingston, Leatherhead, etc.).

FOR SALE AND WANTED

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL would welcome gifts of foreign stamps, for subsequent sale on behalf of W.R.I. funds. Any such gifts received with gratitude. Please send to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield, Middlesex.

ALLYSOL—After 5,000 years a way has been found to remove from garlic its intolerable smell. Get to know Allysol healing liquid, tablets, and sweet-smelling garlic ointment. Send for booklets about garlic. Please refer to advert in this issue.

LAMB BRAND typewriter ribbons. Cleanest, clearest, longest, 3s. 6d. each, postage paid; 10s. three; 18s. 6d. six. Name models, colours, Peace News. Hardman and Sons, 15 Prospect Place, Preston.

PIANO ACCORDIONS for sale, exchanged, wanted; list, (Dept. 4) Accordion Repairers, 9a High Street, Barnstable, Devon.

PAINTINGS, ETCHINGS and some more Gill woodcuts for sale. New lists now available. Please write Holder, 5 Grove Terrace, N.W.5.

PRAM WANTED. Tansol or drop-end model. Good condition. Not Utility. C.O. agriculture. Whyatt, Avilon, Chyngton Gdns., Seaford, Sussex.

"ERUDITION." Educational spelling game for old and young (Trade supplied). 3s. 6d. Bookhouse, 22 Colehill Lane, S.W.6.

WANTED, second-hand dispatch case, appearance unimportant, must be strong. £2. Phone Hampstead 0503 or write Box 402.

PRIMUS STOVE wanted urgently. Steele, Khyber Cottage, Updown Hill, Windlesham, Surrey.

WANTED PURCHASE, "Ends and Means," "Grey Eminence"—Huxley; and "Laughing Diplomat"—Varre-Michael French. Rectory, Chilton Cantelo, Yeovil, Somerset.

LAND AND COMMUNITY

HILL FARM (near Lancashire town) rent free agriculturally experienced person willing co-operate with owner. Box 397.

C.O. (about to refuse direction order) and wife seek a place in community. Husband land work, 3 yrs. experience. Wife domestic work, considerable experience. Box 403.

INTEREST WANTED in market gardening or market gardening community. State full particulars please. Box 404.

WANTED TO RENT by young couple with caravan, three to five acres land, suitable market gardening. South Counties. Willing to work part-time if necessary. Steele, Khyber Cottage, Updown Hill, Windlesham, Surrey.

WANTED, as small holding, few acres land (partly orchard preferred), with living accommodation. Box 405.

LITERATURE, etc.

BOOKS LOANED to C.O.s on land, forestry, etc., without obligation. Write for list. Marshall, 21 Wheatlands Drive, Bradford, Yorks.

NEW PAMPHLETS, with Poems. No. 1 on Penal Reform, with intr. by Stuart Morris; No. 2 "Still Towards Democracy," with a foreword by the Duke of Bedford, by Alan Hadfield, M.A. Cantab. Post free 1s. 7d. each. Northern Lights Press, 16 Park Pde., Harrogate.

GOD'S KINGDOM about to be established on earth. Booklet "Christ Is Coming" 7d. post free from Secretary, The Kingdom Movement, 21 Poplar Grove, New Malden, Surrey.

VOICES. Krishnamurti, Vernon Watkins, Wilfred Wellock, John Bayliss, John Atkins, Alec Craig, Roy McFadden, etc. Edited by Denys Val Baker. 1s. 4d. post free: Opus Press, Wood House, Wigginton, Tring, Herts.

HAVE YOU READ Dr. Belden's book "Pax Christi"—now moving into its third impression? Special offer to P.N. readers and P.P.U. members: 2s. 9d. instead of 3s. 6d., limited period only. Postage 3d. Apply A. D. Belden, 47 Argyle Sq., London, W.C.1, marking letters "Pax Christi."

"HEALTH FROM HERBS." The live health magazine. Write for free specimen copy to Box 406.

MEETINGS, etc.

PUBLIC MEETING at 2.30 p.m. on Apr. 23 in Friends House, Euston Rd. "Pacifism and the Future." Speakers: Charles Raven and John Middleton Murry. Chairman: Alex Wood.

SOUTH-EAST LANCASHIRE: a dance in aid of Famine Relief in Europe, at the Carlton Ballroom, Rochdale, Tues., May 2, 7.30—11.30. Tickets: 2s. 6d. from 11 Amy Street, Rochdale.

MERSEYSIDE REGION Armistice Campaign. Harry Hilditch will speak on "Can We Negotiate?" at Hope St. Church Library, Liverpool, on Fri., Apr. 28, at 7.0 p.m.

NEWCASTLE—Anarchist meeting: Bevin declares war on miners; Anarchists reply. Socialist Hall, Royal Arcade, Pilgrim St., Sun., Apr. 23 7 p.m. Speaker: Tom Brown (A.E.U. Shop Steward). Chairman: Geo. Tindale (A.S.L.E. and F.).

PATRICK FIGGIS on "What to do with Germany after the war." Friends' Meeting House, 120 Heat St., N.W.3 (nr. Hampstead tube station), Tues., Apr. 25. Hampstead P.P.U.

STOP MASSACRE BOMBING! A lunch-hour meeting will be held in the Kingsway Hall, Kingsway, W.C.2, on Wed., Apr. 26, at 1.15 p.m. Speakers: Miss Vera Brittain, Rhys J. Davies, M.P. Chairman: Lady Parmoor. Arranged by Bombing Restriction Committee, 49 Parliament Hill, N.W.3.

SOUTHALL GROUP invites you to meet Jack Gibson, London Area Organizer, at Parish Hall, behind Town Hall, May 2, 8 p.m.

BOURNEMOUTH Post-War Reconstruction Group, 5 Wellington Rd., Apr. 28, 7.30 p.m. "Re-building our Health." A Harley Street Doctor.

PERSONAL

BEARD.—Died Apr. 9 at Arundel Lodge, The Park, Cheltenham: Hilda May, beloved eldest daughter of the late Mr. H. G. Beard, and of Mrs. Beard, aged 42. No mourning, or flowers, please. Donations may be sent for Dr. Barnardo's Gloucester Cot Fund, to "The Haven," Oxtalls Rd., Gloucester.

GOOD HOME wanted for mongrel terrier bitch. Send particulars to Smith, 58 Oakley Street, S.W.3.

JOIN Victory Correspondence Club, 34 Honeywell Rd., S.W.11, for congenial pen-friends. Stamp.

GENTLEWOMAN PACIFIST, abroad many years, now lonely, desires contact another who is lonely. Box 407.

C.O. (31), fond of walking, music, reading, would like male companion for holiday in June. Box 408.

SITUATIONS VACANT

It is impossible to confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised in Peace News. Applicants who are in any doubt are recommended to consult the Pacifist Service Bureau, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1, which will often be able to give useful advice.

A FEW active men wanted for timber hauling. Modern equipment. Those with previous experience preferred. Give details of previous experience. J. P. Williams, Gobowen Salop.

BURGESS HILL School requires immediately a gardener-handyman (fruit, vegetables, chickens, bees, boiler-work) and a teacher for 7-9 year olds. Apply Secretary, Redhurst Cranleigh, Surrey.

ASST. SECRETARY wanted for P.P.U. Food Relief Campaign. Applications by first post May 1, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

THERE ARE likely to be one or two vacancies for experienced drivers in foreign relief work. Unconditional or relief exemption necessary. Details from Jack Carruthers, Pacifist Service Bureau, Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

2 MEN REQUIRED at once for general market-garden work; must have at least one year's experience. H. A. Lewis, Syon House Nurseries, Syon Park, Brentford, Middx.

ASST. SECRETARY (part-time) wanted by Prison Medical Reform Council. Local preferred. Typing essential; shorthand-typing desirable. Apply P.M.R.C., 5 Lower Camden, Chislehurst, Kent.

FARM WORKER: cottage near farm. Apply Heffer, Kiln Farm, Bragenham, Leighton Buzzard.

SMALL market-gardening community is still urgently requiring a housekeeper, also land worker. Gloucester Land Scheme, Hempstead, Gloucester.

BECAUSE THE Friends Ambulance Unit is answering increasing calls from overseas, fewer members are available for the necessary administrative work at London Headquarters. Offers of service on usual maintenance basis would be welcomed from pacifists willing to join as typists. Further particulars from F.A.U., 4 Gordon Sq., London, W.C.1.

SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED

C.O., South Manchester, requires work, will consider any kind, also will decorate rooms, etc. Box 398.

LAND GIRL, 28, life experience, seeks situation in or near East Anglia. Good ref. Box 399.

DUPLICATING—100 copies, quarto, 4s. 6d., postage extra. Also expert typing. Winifred Jewell Typewriting Office, 8 Lamas Park Gardens, Ealing. Phone Ealing 1645.

AGRICULTURAL WORK sought by C.O., 29, strong, adaptable. Experience farm work also motor-driving. Congenial accommodation expected. Box 411.

FARMER'S SON, C.O. (28), well educated, desires experience market garden and tomato culture; would consider partnership or co-operative venture. Box 409.

BOOK BINDING! Any style. Hand-sewing a speciality. Periodicals—P.N., C.O. Bulletin, etc. Estimates given. Bookhouse, 22 Colehill Lane, S.W.6.

ENGLISH HONOURS GRADUATE, pacifist woman, aged 27, seeks post in progressive co-educational school next September. 5 years' secondary experience. Box 410.

WILFRED WELLOCK on The Need for Religion in the integration of man and society

A MASS-SOCIETY is the final condemnation of a civilization that has discarded religion. It is, however, better to be without a religion than to hang on to a bad one, a religion which, owing to the corruption of unworthy ends, has lost its power to teach the way of life.

Today one may hear among the rushing winds of public opinion, faint whisperings which indicate a growing consciousness of the need of a vital religion which will bring into judgment the interests and activities which constitute modern life, and integrate the at present hopelessly divided human person, and thereby society itself.

Religions, like civilizations, flourish and decay, rise to great influence and power in one age, degenerate and fade in another. They have provided the guiding principles and the spiritual dynamic in all the great formative periods in history, thereby enabling the spirit of man to triumph over matter and to build the roadways to his highest good. When, however, man fails to synthesise in his religion the new forces and opportunities which his inventive genius discovers, he flounders in the morass of self-indulgence and class-power, often for many generations.

Man exhausts his religious syntheses and requires more comprehensive ones as he develops. If these be forthcoming, his progress continues; if they fail, he degenerates.

Discovery of Knowledge and Values

The theoretical, doctrinal, spiritual and ethical content of religion is naturally enriched from time to time as man advances in knowledge and understanding of the external world, of himself, and thus of the nature of God. Development implies discovery, and discovery demands a new synthesis of man's knowledge, and thus a revival of religion.

However far or fast man travels, he is always conscious of heights and depths of the love of God still to be attained. As he progresses he discovers new values, new relationships with God and man in which he experiences a more abundant life. By synthesising these discoveries in his religion he vitalizes and enriches it.

At one stage God is feared, and

propitiated with blood sacrifices; at another revered, and worshipped with "a pure heart and a contrite spirit"; at still another loved, and served by developing good human relationships. In the course of this progress, man develops skills, attributes, spiritual, intellectual and social power which may conflict with the social conditions and standards surrounding him. He will then demand a new social order, and a new religion.

For the most part, the Western world has lacked an adequate, and thus an effective religion for several centuries. Its "Christianity" has completely failed to embrace the human values taught by and exemplified in the life of Christ.

The history of Puritanism is a story of human, spiritual and physical starvation resulting from the rejection of the spiritual and economic value of neighbourliness in human relations. From its false synthesis, the grossest forms of selfishness and materialism have arisen, including oppression at home and aggression abroad, leading step by step to the collapsing civilization we now behold.

The most urgent need of today is a new religion, a true Christian synthesis which embraces man as a living soul, a creator, a veritable son of God whose glory is in achievement and whose well-being is in fellowship and peace with all men. It will make clear that what destroys or prevents fellowship is sin, and from that angle will bring the whole apparatus of modern industrialism into judgment.

Christ's conception of man has never been synthesised either in Anglicanism or in Puritanism. In consequence, civilization is perishing, with the Church's acquiescence and assistance.

A Source of True Values

A religion which faces up to all man's knowledge of the universe, including himself, will provide him with a system of values which is the gateway to the good life, to order, tranquillity, and abiding satisfaction. It will reveal the limited value of material possessions and the supreme value of spiritual possessions, including good human relations, and the secret of attaining them. Without such a religion man is rudderless on a sea of turbulent and conflicting impulses and emotions. The search for a true religion is thus man's first duty.

Now while the nature of God is revealed, in every discovery in nature and in man, the significance and uses of scientific knowledge, including the uses of machinery, should be determined by the nature and requirements of man as a human person. It is fundamental to recognize that man's strongest instinct and aspiration is to create, to add his quota, the deepest thought and feeling in his soul, to the beauty and glory of the earth; the effort to do this calls for knowledge, understanding, training and skill; that success will quicken and deepen his understanding, his sympathies, his sensitivity and his power of appreciation, increase his spiritual and creative power, and satisfy his soul with the regard, love and fellowship of his neighbours, and thus with the knowledge that life is good.

Man can never know the joy and the glory of living until all his powers are extended in some all-absorbing creative labour, be it ever so lowly. Such labour will tell a man when and where to use the machine; and there is no other test or criterion. As a man liveth so is he, and so is determined the value of everything under the sun.

SENTENCE CUT BY HALF

Miss Rita Winifred Matthews, the first woman CO to be sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment for refusing service, has succeeded, on appeal, in getting her sentence reduced to 6 months with costs. This means that the costs of the appeal will be payable by the Ministry of Labour.

The appeal was heard at Portsmouth Quarter Sessions on Apr. 11. Miss Matthews, who was represented by Mr. G. R. F. Morris, Counsel (instructed by Denis Hayes of the Central Board for COs), is a full-time Jehovah's Witness.

More appeals to end the deadlock in India

112 EDITORS WRITE TO VICEROY

THE text of a letter sent by the editors of 112 newspapers in India to the Viceroy on Jan. 12, drawing his "pointed attention to the existence of widespread discontent in the country and distrust of British intentions" has just reached London.

The editors were from different parts of the country and represented different shades of political opinion.

"The continuance of the political deadlock," they wrote, "and the unparalleled misery into which certain parts of the country have been plunged by economic distress and shortage of food, constitute a serious menace to internal peace and the security of the country."

"We feel that everything possible should be done by all parties concerned to resolve the political deadlock and for the better defence of India. Such a step cannot be further delayed."

"While offering our fullest co-operation towards the achievement of the above end, we strongly urge on the Government the imperative need for releasing Mahatma Gandhi and the other political leaders and taking such other action as may be necessary to enable all parties to make their contribution towards the

ROOSEVELT AND U.S. CONGRESS WANT WIDER FOOD RELIEF

Kershner Plan gains support in Britain

THE American House of Representatives passed unanimously on Monday a resolution urging immediate action to provide relief for the starving people of occupied Europe. This development follows a statement by Dr. Howard Kershner that President Roosevelt and his chief advisers wish to extend food relief on the lines of the Greek experiment to other countries.

We hope to publish next week the text of the resolution passed on Monday. (A similar resolution was passed unanimously by the American Senate in February).

Kershner's declaration was made in an article first published a few weeks ago in the New York Times. In a series of full-page newspaper advertisements which are a feature of his unremitting campaign he drives home the significance of the unanimous Senate resolution to extend relief, the declared support of the American Federation of Labour, the Federal Council of Churches, the Bishops of the Catholic Church, and public opinion—shown by a recent Gallup Poll to be 3 to 1 in favour of relief now.

COMMON WEALTH SUPPORT

British support is described by Kershner as "equally emphatic, if perhaps a little less unanimous" but, despite the failure of the Famine Relief Committee to rise to the occasion, Kershner's Plan is rapidly gaining ground in this country.

A large majority of the mixed provincial committees are actively backing Kershner, and the Food Relief Campaign of the PPU has been instrumental in securing the most valuable support of Common Wealth for the scheme.

"The Food Relief Campaign documents," writes the Assistant General Secretary, "were considered by the Working Committee of Common Wealth and it was agreed that we as a movement should support the ideas set out in those documents."

MINISTER'S ADMISSION

Lord Selborne, Minister of Economic Warfare, has made important admissions in a letter to Sir Leonard Lyle, MP for Bournemouth, who had been pressed by some of his constituents to take up the matter with the Ministry of Economic Warfare.

"It is conceivable that neutral shipping could be found for such a purpose," says the Minister, "and that supplies might be forthcoming, though the supply position is by no means easy at the present time. No doubt finance would not present any insuperable difficulty." He rather lamely excuses his earlier statement that he had no knowledge that food, shipping and money were available by saying that he was trying to "remove the wholly erroneous impression, which appears to exist in many people's minds, that cargoes of foodstuffs are ready to be shipped to the occupied countries, and that ships are waiting to sail as soon as navigators are issued."

The Ministry is thus retiring gracefully from what was always potentially an untenable position. The retreat is undoubtedly due to the splendid work of public education done by mixed committees throughout the country. They now have the satisfaction of being able to quote Lord Selborne as saying, "Our decision to maintain a complete blockade (except in the case of Greece) has not been based upon the absence or availability of food, shipping or money."

He still manages to avoid admitting that adequate control machinery could be established, and the next step is clearly to press for publication of the precise agreements governing the disposal of domestic supplies concluded between the belligerents in Greece. Kershner is emphatic that "Neutral Swedish and Swiss personnel, in co-operation with the International Red Cross, are ready to supervise the distribution of relief in Norway, Belgium, Holland and France." We believe that they would not agree to do so if they were not confident of success.

'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

Role of fascism

FASCISM or communism—that is the effective choice before an industrial society once it plunges into a violent process of fundamental change, like total war. Democracy, fighting fascism by total war, is driven along the road that leads to fascism, or communism. But a new lease of life for fascism is hardly conceivable—at any rate in Europe. Fascism has performed its "historical mission": to bring the democracies on the road to communism, and to make Russian communism nationalist and respectable. So respectable indeed is communism now that the biggest private business transaction of all time is reported to have been arranged between USA and USSR, whereby American big business is to supply USSR with 2,500 million dollars' worth of goods in the ten years after the war.

That is the final touch in the paradoxical pattern. American capitalism will try to prolong its life by supplying Russia. Possibly when the technique has been fully elaborated, USA will save itself from communism by adding its substantial quota to the productivity of communist Russia.

But where does Britain come in? Her efforts to do a similar deal with Russia are said to be shipwrecked on finance. Why (I wonder) is it more difficult for the British than for the American banks to finance supplies to Russia? Like Rosa Dantle, I only want to know.

The 14 Points

THE shoddy political thinking between the wars has blamed on President Wilson's 14 Points (which I contrasted last week with the Atlantic Charter) the failure of a League of Nations based upon a perversion of them. The 14 Points were perhaps the greatest statement of democratic foreign policy ever made. Perhaps a simple campaign to publicize it might do good in the general mood of dreary hopelessness. Here are two passages worth learning by heart:

"No statesman who has the least conception of his responsibility ought for a moment to permit himself to continue this tragical and appalling outpouring of blood and treasure unless he is sure beyond a peradventure that the objects of the vital sacrifice are part and parcel of the very life of society and that the people for whom he speaks think them right and imperative as he does."

"We have no jealousy of German greatness, and there is nothing in this programme that impairs it. We grudge her no achievement or distinction of learning or of pacific enterprise, such as have made her record very bright and very enviable. We do not wish to injure her or to block in any way her legitimate influence or power. We do not wish to fight her either with arms or with hostile arrangements of trade if she is willing to associate herself with us and the other peace-loving nations of the world in covenants of justice and law and fair dealing. We wish her only to accept a place of equality among the peoples of the world—the new world in which we now live—instead of a place of mastery."

WAR OFFICE REPLY

References by Fenner Brockway to an official booklet, published in 1937 but still issued to British Army officers in India, were answered by the War Office after the meeting.

Describing it as a "disgraceful document" which "treated Indians with contempt," Fenner Brockway had quoted passages which described the outstanding characteristics of the Indian nature as lying, bribery and incitement to assault. He said he hoped that the booklet would be withdrawn.

A War Office spokesman was reported in the press on Monday as saying: "The pamphlet is far from unfriendly or unappreciative of the great qualities of the Indian people. It does quite properly contain some warning to officers and troops not well acquainted with India against difficulties they might meet."

Published from 8 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4, by "Peace News" Ltd. Printed by Clifford Printing Co. (T.U.), London, N.16.

MAY DAY INTERNATIONAL WAR-RESISTERS' DEMONSTRATION

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Reg. Reynolds; Basil Rodgers
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